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FRANCIS W. HIRST.

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V.

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INTRODUCTION.

A few months ago prizes were offered by the *Speaker* for the best hundred books on Peace and War, and a number of excellent lists were sent in, evidently the fruit of much research and careful selection. Some of these it has been thought proper to reprint, so that they might be available for public and private libraries.

It was suggested that I should write a brief introduction, and I gladly agreed to do so; for the subject is one in which I have long been deeply interested. I have added an index of authors.

The formation of a good library on Peace and War is no easy task even for the rare and fortunate individual who combines wealth with industry and learning. There is, as Mr. Sturge observes, a scarcity of important books dealing specifically or mainly with the subject. Hence in the lists which follow many small pamphlets, and a certain quantity of rubbish, may be found.

It is clear to my mind that the basis of a library on Peace and War should be historical. The works of Herodotus, and Thucydides, Tacitus, Gibbon, Hume, Grote, Finlay, Carlyle, Macaulay, Freeman, and Green could hardly be omitted. In addition to the standard histories, among which I have only mentioned a few, there are many special histories and biographies that bear directly upon War. Napier's "History of the Penin-

sular War" and Labaume's "History of Napoleon's Campaign in Russia" are two of the most faithful narratives and vivid descriptions of modern warfare that we possess. Kinglake's "Crimean War" will also occur to many, nor should we forget the work of Russell, Forbes, and other war correspondents; then there are soldiers like Lord Roberts and De Wet, who know how to wield the pen when the campaign is over. Professor Oman's "Art of War," Bloch's "Future of War," and Grose's "Military Antiquities" are books of great interest and value as an introduction to the evolution of weapons, fortifications, and strategy. On another side, as exhibiting the gradual growth of diplomatic intercourse between nations, is Robert Ward's fascinating and learned "Enquiry into the Foundation and History of the Law of Nations in Europe to the Age of Grotius" (1).

A special compartment in every good library of Peace and War would of course be devoted to books on International Law, starting with Grotius and ending with Nys, whose important work is not yet completed. Many shelves would have to be assigned to technical books on Modern Warfare, including works on strategy and tactics, both by land and sea, on guns, forts, mines, battleships, and all the mechanism of destruction. Manuals of military ethics, showing at what point legitimate stratagems and tricks degenerate into dishonourable fraud and perfidy, should be carefully collected. Medical books on the treatment of wounds and the equipment of hospitals and ambulances would occupy a certain space. Anything bearing on the Red Cross movement would be of value.

Although faithful descriptions of warfare, of the injus-

(1) 2 vols. London, 1795.

tice and suffering it inflicts on the innocent, of the disappointment it causes to the victor, of the financial corruption that accompanies it, and the load of debt it leaves behind are perhaps the most effective form of Peace literature, there is also what may be called Peace Literature proper, including classical pieces and treatises in praise or defence of Peace by Erasmus, Sully, Penn, St. Pierre, Kant, and the rest. Among these we must not pass by the great orations of great orators persuading Peace or dissuading War; the speeches of Fox, Burke, Sumner, Cobden, Bright, and many more will certainly be placed on our shelves. Then there are the lives of the saints and heroes who stood for Peace at moments of crisis or devised schemes for its perpetuation. In this company the English-speaking race will proudly count Penn, Walpole, Chatham, Adam Smith, Franklin, Burke, Fox, Bentham, Channing, Gladstone, Cobden, Bright, Sumner, Henry Richards, and many more; and several of them have been fortunate in their biographers.

Again, if I were the collector of such a library I should take especial pains with a department which should be labelled "The Political Economy of War," a term invented I think by Mr. Gladstone.

One of the greatest Peace books of the world is, of course, Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations." And with it I should place Bastiat's Sophisms and many of Cobden's Essays and Speeches. There is no doubt that of all the links which bind nations together more closely year by year the most difficult to snap is the link of trade and finance. The science of trade is a large part of the science of Peace. A good Peace library should be very rich in histories of trade and manufactures, of transport

and the means of communication by land and sea. Questions of merchant shipping in war and the growth of insurance would deserve a large amount of space and attention. Histories of the progress of humanity, reason, and civilisation by such writers as Lecky and Buckle will stand high in our list.

The most knotty problem of all is the problem of classification. Let everyone who uses a library solve it in his own way, to suit his own purpose. Obviously no classification is final or satisfactory from all points of view. The same volume should often go into half-a-dozen different sections. Take for example a category like the ethics of war. There are some books, such as Kant's "Perpetual Peace," the Lectures of T. H. Green, or Sermons on War by Hall, Channing, Mozley, and others, which would belong primarily to this department; but there are also books like the "De Jure Belli ac Pacis" of Grotius which have an important bearing on ethics, though primarily belonging to jurisprudence. An ingenious lady based a classification upon the distinction between books with a warlike and books with a peaceful tendency, and wrote a most persuasive essay in favour of the arrangement. In her black list of books making for war a prominent place was of course assigned to warlike poetry, and the bellicose disposition of the Scottish nation was attributed largely to border minstrelsy. But what is to be done with poets like Tennyson and Kipling, who breathe war and peace by turns, attuning their lyres to the popular mood without much attention to the origin of the war or the justice of the cause?

FRANCIS W. HIRST.

London, June, 1907.

"THE BEST HUNDRED BOOKS ON PEACE AND WAR."

LIST I.

(By CHARLES STURGE).

In compiling this list one of the main difficulties has lain in the scarcity of important books dealing specifically or mainly with the subject. This fact, coupled with the recommendation to keep very largely to works in English, has led to the inclusion among the hundred of sundry books which are, in my opinion, far from first rate, and to the insertion of others which contain pertinent sections imbedded in much irrelevant matter. Then, again, the line between a book and a pamphlet is by no means a clear one, and has not always been regarded.

The principle adopted has been to include not merely anti-war literature, but also effective statements of various points of view.

The classification is not—and cannot be—completely satisfactory, since many books are qualified for inclusion under two or more heads, but it is sufficient to indicate the outstanding features of the various works. The list is divided into eleven sections, and the books in each of these are arranged alphabetically, but are numbered continuously throughout. Works of special importance are starred.

I must express my great indebtedness to Dr. Evans Darby for very courteously allowing me to examine the books in the library of the Peace Society, and to him and others for various suggestions.

CHARLES STURGE.

A. WORKS OF REFERENCE.

✓ 1.—"DIGEST OF THE INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATIONS TO WHICH THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN A PARTY," BY J. B. MOORE. (Washington, 1898.)

This huge work, which consists of 6 volumes, containing over 5,000 pages and over 60 maps, was prepared for the American Government. The Appendices contain particulars of Treaties, a historical account of the question, and summaries of various arbitration cases with which the U.S.A. was not concerned.

2*.—"INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNALS," BY W. EVANS DARBY, LL.D. (London, 1904.) 927 pages.

A very valuable book. Its contents fall mainly under four heads: (1) *Particulars—with in many cases the foreign text and translation—of proposals for International Courts, etc.*—including Henri IV.'s, Penn's, St. Pierre's, Kant's, and many less known schemes; (2) *Details of Arbitration Clauses* inserted in various treaties from 1606 onwards; (3) *A full account of the Hague Conference* of 1899, in so far as it dealt with Mediation and Arbitration (including the proposals that were *not* adopted), and of the *International Court* established a year later, and of the *American International Conferences of 1900 and 1902*; (4) *Summaries, with references, of 540 cases of international questions submitted to arbitration* in and after 1794. [N.B. Part 4 is published separately under the title of "Modern Pacific Settlements.]

3.—"IS WAR NOW IMPOSSIBLE?" BY I. S. BLOCH. (London, 1899.)

This is a translation of the final volume of the great work on "*The War of the Future in its Technical, Economic, and Political Relations,*" originally published in Russian in 1898 (in 5 vols.), and translated into French (in 6 vols.), and German (in 6 vols.), but of which no complete English version exists. There is a prefatory conversation with Mr. W. T. Stead (also published separately), in which the author's, very debatable, view that a *great* war is *now* impossible is dis-

cussed. Perhaps, however, the real value of the book lies in the copious statistics and diagrams dealing with such matters as the cost of wars, the power of weapons, and the social and industrial conditions of several of the larger European countries, and these points are presumably further elaborated in the earlier volumes of the original. The writer was formerly a Jewish banker at Warsaw, and devoted some eight years to the question.

B. GENERAL STATEMENTS OF THE CASE AGAINST WAR, AND FOR POSSIBLE SUBSTITUTES.

4*.—"ANTIPOLEMUS, THE," OF ERASMUS, translated by V. KNOX. (London, 1794.)

The book, though running to some 100 pages in the translation, is described as a fragment. In the original it formed part of the "Adagia" under the proverb "Dulce bellum inexpertis," and had no title, "Antipolemus" being the translator's name for it. It is described as "a plea of reason, religion and humanity against war," and deals largely with the inconsistency of Religious wars. No complete English version has since appeared, though there was an abbreviated one published at New York in 1813. In the 1794 edition a number of extracts from other writings of Erasmus on War are translated as an appendix.

5*.—"ARBITER IN COUNCIL, THE," Anonymous. (London, 1906.)

Far the best general work on the subject that I know. It is an able, interesting, and informing statement of the main arguments for Peace, Arbitration, etc., in the form of papers and discussions on the following points:—(1.) The Causes and Consequences of War; (2.) Modern Warfare; (3.) Private War and the Duel; (4.) Cruelty; (5.) The Federation of the World; (6.) Arbitration; (7.) The Political Economy of War; and (8.) Christianity and War.

6.—"CAPTAIN JINKS, HERO," BY ERNEST CROSBY. (New York, 1902.)

A novel (illustrated) satirizing American Militarism from a

Tolstoian standpoint—with special reference to the Spanish-American war and the Pekin expedition of 1900.

7*.—"COMPLAINT OF PEACE EVERYWHERE DESPISED AND REJECTED OF MEN, THE," OF ERASMUS, translated by V. KNOX. (London, 1795.) Reprinted 1802, but not since. The "Querela Pacis" was written about 1517.

An eloquent statement of the incompatibility of Christianity and War written from an almost Quakerly point of view. Many of the modern arguments are stated with vigour and clearness, and the whole well merits re-printing. Among its noteworthy features are *protests against* (1) the view that wars are unavoidable, (2) the doctrine of "natural enemies" as applied to nations, (3) war-loving prelates, and (4) the exhibition of war-flags in churches; *suggestions* (1) that if wars must be they should be waged by those causing them, and (2) that no king should have the power to alienate any of his territory; and *pleas* (1) for non-Christian nations ("Is not the Turk a man—a brother?"), and (2) for Arbitration.

8.—"DE LA PAIX, DE SON PRINCIPE ET DE SA REALISATION," BY C. PECQUEUR. (Paris, 1842.)

Apparently not translated. Pt. 1: War anti-Christian and anti-humane; Pt. 2: War opposed to the Prosperity of peoples; Pt. 3: Means, direct and indirect, of bringing about Peace (including a High Court, Mediation, and Arbitration).

9.—"HATE OF HATE, THE," BY FRANCES S. HALLOWES. (London, 1901.) A carefully-written story advocating Peace and Arbitration on Christian and Moral grounds. The scene is England during and after the South African War.

10.—"HISTORY OF PEACE," BY HOMER L. BOYLE. (Grand Rapids, U.S.A., 1905 or later.)

The title is rather misleading. The book is a somewhat miscellaneous collection of short extracts connected with the Peace Movement, and of poems, prayers, etc., with an appendix on the Hague Conference and sundry cases of Arbitration.

11.—"HORRIDA BELLA," Anonymous. (London, 1889.)

Not merely a statement of the horrors of war as the name might suggest, but "an impeachment of the war system" on various grounds, and a plea for arbitration.

12.—"LAY DOWN YOUR ARMS," BY THE BARONESS VON SUTTNER. Authorized translation by T. Holmes. (2nd edition, London, 1894.)

"Die Waffen Nieder" had a wide circulation on the Continent. It is in the form of a novel, but is understood to be largely the life of the authoress. The heroine is an Austrian lady, whose first husband falls in the Schleswig-Holstein war, and her second, after taking part in the Austro-Prussian and Franco-German conflicts, is slain during the Paris Commune. It forms an effective statement of the evils of War.

13.—"NEW LEVIATHAN, THE," BY J. A. FARRER. (London, 1899.)

An argument for bringing about Peace through Internationalism, and a criticism of Nationalism and Patriotism as often understood.

14.—"PAX MUNDI," BY K. P. ARNOLDSON. Authorized translation of a Swedish work. (London, 1892.)

The author was a member of the Swedish Riksdag. Deals with the practical European difficulties in the way of realizing his ideal. Besides discussing Arbitration, etc., he gives information as to European and American pacific movements. Advocates the neutralizing of Sweden or of Scandinavia, and holds that neutral States have the right to forbid war.

15.—"PEACE AND WAR," BY CHARLES RICHET. Translated from the French by M. Edwards

A readable and sensible defence of peace. Objections considered. Suggests the deposit of a considerable sum of money by each party to an arbitration as a guarantee of good faith. Looks eventually to Arbitration rendered compulsory by an armed International force as the solution. Argues, in opposition to some recent writers, that modern war tends to the survival of the weak and the cowards rather than to the "survival of the fittest."

16.—"PEACE THE RIGHT OF NATIONS," BY E. HARMENING. Translated from the German by W. Henkel. (Breslau, 1891.)

Written by a Doctor of Laws and Member of the German Reichstag. The author looks to Arbitration and Federation for the attainment of the "Right" he claims for nations.

17.—"POLITICAL AND LEGAL REMEDIES FOR WAR," BY SHELDON AMOS. (London, 1880.)

A book important in its day, if now somewhat out-of-date. Subjects dealt with: (1) The Character of Modern War and the Possibility of Permanent Peace; (2) Some Causes of Modern European Wars; (3) Some Political Remedies for War; (4) Some Legal Remedies for War.

The author—who thought permanent peace possible—was formerly Professor of Jurisprudence at Univ. Coll., London.

18.—"TRUE GRANDEUR OF NATIONS, THE," BY CHARLES SUMNER. (Boston, 1898, and various earlier editions, English and American; there is also a book called "Addresses on War," by Charles Sumner," Boston, 1902.)

This famous oration, which enlarged on the sentiment that "war is utterly and irreconcilably inconsistent with true greatness," was delivered at Boston in 1845.

C. DEFENCES OF WAR.

19.—"CAUSES DE LA GUERRE, DES," BY J. PEYRONNARD. (Montpellier, 1901.)

A lengthy (348 pp.) "Thèse pour le Doctorat," in which the author, after analyzing various causes of war, concludes that wars are not likely to cease, nor is it desirable that they should do so. Peace, he maintains, would intensify political and social disputes, and Anarchists and Socialists would rejoice at the abolition of armies.

20.—"CROWN OF WILD OLIVES, THE," BY J. RUSKIN.

The Third Lecture of the Series, delivered at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, in 1865, is the one which concerns us. Ruskin argues (1) That War is the foundation of all great Art, and (2) That Peace and the vices of Civil Life

flourish together, while war promotes virtues. [He admits, however, that many wars—and especially many wars under modern conditions—do not have these good effects.]

21.—"MAUD," BY ALFRED TENNYSON. (Various editions, first published London, 1855.)

Contains a vigorous and classical statement of the alleged evils of peace, and a glorification of war as a moral regenerator. [See No. 95 of this list.]

22.—"NATIONAL DUTIES AND OTHER SERMONS," BY JAMES MARTINEAU. (London, 1903.)

Sermons 5 and 6 deal with Non-Resistance and War. He believes war to be sometimes a duty.

23*.—"NATIONAL LIFE FROM THE STANDPOINT OF SCIENCE," BY KARL PEARSON, F.R.S. (2nd edn., London, 1905.)

A lecture delivered at Newcastle in 1890, with appendices of later date.

An attempt to find a scientific basis for Imperialism. The contention is that a nation is "an organized whole, kept up "to a high pitch of internal efficiency by ensuring that its "members are substantially recruited from the better stock, "and *kept up to a high pitch of external efficiency by combat, "chiefly by war with inferior races,* and with equal races by "the struggle for trade-routes and for the sources of raw "material and of food supply"; and that it is needful and desirable that "lower" races be driven out or destroyed by "higher" ones.

24.—"ON WAR," BY T. DE QUINCEY. (In Vol. IV. of Collected Works, Edinburgh, 1863.)

Is an essay in which the author ridicules the idea of Universal Peace within any measurable time on the grounds that war is (1) a physical and (2) a moral necessity, and (3) on the whole "a blessing from century to century if an incon-"venience from year to year."

25.—"PHILOSOPHY OF WAR, THE," BY JAMES RAM. (London, 1878.) The author describes this as "a work written in favour ". . . of war in the abstract." He admits the horrors and

losses of war fully, but holds that "war, in a certain due degree, "should be regarded as one of the good things of the world," on 'survival of the fittest' grounds, and as tending to develop "combativeness" and "readiness to suffer," and leading "to the "continual replacing of inferior types of men" by those capable of higher organization.

26.—"PRINCIPLES OF MORAL AND POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY, THE," BY WILLIAM PALEY. (Various editions, 17th, London, 1809, 2 vols.)

The last section deals with War, which the author regards as justifiable on certain conditions. He says that "every "just war supposes an injury perpetrated, attempted or "feared," so that the list of just wars according to this definition would be a long one.

27.—"REDEMPTION OF WAR, THE," BY F. PAGET. (London, 1900, 2nd Edition.)

The author, in these sermons and addresses, argues that its effect on character, in promoting seriousness and other good qualities, is War's redeeming point.

28.—"WAR JUSTIFIED," Anonymous. (London and Birmingham, 1859.) Described as "An Appeal to Scripture and Common Sense." A lengthly examination of the Peace arguments of Dymond and others from a hostile point of view.

D. WAR AS IT IS.

29.—"BRUNT OF THE WAR, THE," BY EMILY HOBHOUSE. London, 1902.)

An account of the "Concentration Camps," and the hardships and suffering they involved, during the Boer War.

30.—"CAPTAIN SWORD AND CAPTAIN PEN," BY LEIGH HUNT. (3rd Edition, with notes and preface, London, 1849.)

A poem "to show the horrors of war, the false ideas of "power produced in the minds of its leaders, and, by infer-"ence, the unfitness of those leaders for the government of "the world."

31.—"CIRCUMSTANTIAL NARRATIVE OF THE CAMPAIGN IN RUSSIA, A," BY E. LABAUME. Translated from the French. London, 1815.)

The author was an eye-witness of the events in Russia in 1812—Napoleon's march to Moscow, the burning of that city, and the terrible retreat.

32*.—"DOWNFALL, THE," BY E. ZOLA. Translated from the French by E. Vizetelly. (London, 1899.)

Zola's "La Débacle" (1871, etc.) is a study of certain episodes in the Franco-German War. The subject of the novel is described by the author as "War in relation to various "classes of Society . . . the bourgeois, . . . the "peasant, . . . the workman," and "how the war was "brought about." Contains many vivid pictures of the realities of the battle-field, of ambulance work, of captivity, and of the effects of these on different types of character.

33*.—"MILITARY MANNERS AND CUSTOMS," BY J. A. FARRER. (London, 1885.)

Deals with (1) The Laws of War; (2) Warfare in the Days of Chivalry; (3) Naval Warfare; (4) Military Reprisals; (5) Military Stratagems; (6) Barbarian Warfare; (7) War and Christianity; (8) Curiosities of Military Discipline; and (9) The Limits of Military Duties. Contains much information. Pessimistic as to the improvement in the customs of war, as the author holds that war is easier to abolish than to humanize. Lays stress on the moral responsibility of the individual soldier. [Chapters 1, 7, and 9 were also published separately under the title "War" (London, 1887).]

34.—"RED BADGE OF COURAGE, THE," BY STEPHEN CRANE. (London, 1895.)

A vivid story of the conditions of modern war and of their effect on the mind and actions of a raw recruit. Scene laid in American Civil War.

35.—"REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT AND WAR," BY CAPTAIN C. ROSS. (London, 1903.)

The writer argues strongly that Representative Government

is incompatible with the ideals of war, and with its efficient conduct.

36.—"SOLDIER'S POCKET-BOOK FOR FIELD SERVICE, THE," BY VISCOUNT WOLSELEY. (5th Edition, London, 1886.)

Consists of hints and advice to officers on a vast number of practical points. The book, especially in the sections dealing with Spies, with Flags of Truce, and with the Ideals to be set before the Soldier, throws a strange light on the Ethics of War.

37.—"TROOPER PETER HALKET OF MASHONALAND," BY OLIVE SCHREINER. (London, 1897.)

The scene of the story is a war with South African natives in Mashonaland. Illustrates the way in which such peoples are apt to be treated by "civilized" armies in war-time.

38.—"TROOPER 3809," BY LIONEL DECLE. (London, 1899.)

A story illustrating the life of a private soldier in the French army, with an introduction dealing with the conditions of French Conscript Service.

39.—"WAR CORRESPONDENT, THE," BY V. VERESHCHAGIN. Translated from the Russian. (London, 1894.)

A tale, partly autobiographical, of the Russo-Turkish War, by the famous painter.

E. WAR FROM RELIGIOUS AND ETHICAL STANDPOINTS.

40.—"APOLOGY FOR THE TRUE CHRISTIAN DIVINITY, ETC., AN," BY ROBERT BARCLAY. (4th Edition, London, 1701.)

This is the most famous theological work published by a Quaker of the early days. It was written about 1675. It contains a rather brief statement of the Quaker position as to war, and a consideration of certain objections taken thereto.

41.—"CHRISTIANITY AND PATRIOTISM," BY L. TOLSTOI. Translated from the Russian. (Chicago, 1905.) [There is at least one other English Translation, called "PATRIOTISM AND CHRISTIANITY," and edited by Kenworthy, containing additional sections

dealing with the Franco-Russian Festivities of 1894. The former, however, contains a "*Reply to Criticisms,*" and a letter called "*Patriotism or Peace,*" relating to the Anglo-Venezuelan dispute of 1896, neither of which is in the latter.]

By patriotism Tolstoi means "a love for one's own nation "more than for others," and this he denounces vigorously. He attaches little value to Arbitration.

42*.—"CHRISTIANITY AND WAR," BY REV. JAMES BARR. (London and Glasgow, 1903.)

Five lectures or sermons delivered in Glasgow during and just after the South African War. States strongly and ably the view that *all war is contrary to Christ's teaching.* (1) The Church and War; (2) The Arbitrament of the Sword; (3) The Testimony of Great Writers; (4) The War in Soutb Africa; and (5) On the Conclusion of Peace, June, 1902, are the subjects of the lectures. The 1st and 3rd contain many interesting quotations. The 2nd deals with the cost, tragedy, moral evils, and folly of war, and contains some analysis of the causes of certain English wars, with a consideration of substitutes for war, etc. The 5th treats of the moral causes of war. An interesting and valuable book.

43.—EARLY CHRISTIANS AND WAR, BY THOMAS CLARKSON. (The exact title is "AN ESSAY ON THE DOCTRINES AND PRACTICES OF THE EARLY CHRISTIANS AS THEY RELATE TO WAR." (2nd Edition, London, 1817.)

Contains considerable evidence in support of the view that during the first three centuries of our era the prevalent feeling of the Christian communities was that war was wrong for a Christian.

44.—"GESTA CHRISTI," BY C. LORING BRACE. (New York, 1885; London, 1899.)

Is a valuable "history of humane progress under Christianity." The sections specially germane to our subject are Chapters 11, 13, and 14, dealing with the Middle Ages, and Chapters 27 and 30, referring to later times. The writer holds that "peace among all men and among all nations is the "ideal presented by Christ."

45.—"INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY ON WAR, THE," BY J. F. BETHUNE-BAKER. (Cambridge, 1888.)

The writer, while asserting that Christ sanctioned war, and that the early Christian Church was not strongly opposed thereto, collects evidence of the Influence of Christianity in diminishing the frequency and cruelty of wars, and in providing substitutes for appeals to force.

46.—"INTERNATIONAL POLICY," BY RICHARD CONGREVE. (London, 1866.)

The writer, a Comtist, is here applying the Positivist Principle of "subordinating Politics to Morals" to the foreign relations of England.

47.—"MORAL DAMAGE OF WAR, THE," BY REV. WALTER WALSH. (London, 1902.)

Twelve papers, perhaps sermons originally, maintaining the essentially unchristian nature of war, "not because it kills . . . but because it depraves." The injury done by war to the moral sense of various classes—the child, the soldier, the politician, the journalist, the preacher, the missionary, the trader, etc.—is set forth with great energy and a wealth of illustrative anecdote. A useful book marred by over-emphasis, and by a needless attack on the Hague Conference.

48*.—NEW TESTAMENT, THE.

49*.—ON WAR, BY JONATHAN DYMOND. (The exact title begins "AN ENQUIRY INTO THE ACCORDANCY OF WAR WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF CHRISTIANITY . . .") (4th Edition, London, 1843.) First published in 1823.

Deals with (1) the *Causes*, (2) the *Enquiry*, etc. (as above), and (3) the *Effects* upon (a) Military Character, and (b) the Community. A very able and interesting book, written in defence of the Quaker position. Includes a Criticism of Paley's views. [There are similar arguments, differently arranged, in Chapter xix. of *Dymond's* "*Essays on Christian Morality*."(First published, London, 1829.)]

50.—"PORTRAITURE OF QUAKERISM," BY T. CLARKSON. 3 vols. (London, 1807.)

The 1st volume includes an elaborate statement and examination of the Quaker position as to war, and a defence of its practicability.

51.—"SOUL OF A PEOPLE, THE," BY H. FIELDING. (London, 1898.)

This book about the Burmese contains two interesting chapters (Nos. 5 and 6) on Buddhism and its Peace doctrines, and the effect thereof on Burmese character and conduct.

52.—"THOUGHTS ON UNIVERSAL PEACE," BY THOMAS CHALMERS, D.D. (2nd Edition, Glasgow, 1816.)

An eloquent sermon urging each man to work for Universal Peace in his own sphere.

F. COMMERCIAL AND FINANCIAL ASPECTS.

53.—"BURDEN OF ARMAMENTS, THE," BY THE COBDEN CLUB. (London, 1905.)

A plea for Retrenchment prepared by a Committee presided over by Mr. G. Shaw-Lefevre. The chapters are as follows:—

(1.) *The Period of Panics* (1847-1863).

(2.) *The Period of Retrenchment* (1863-1884).

(3.) *The Growth of Militarism* (1884 onwards).

(4.) *A Plea for Disarmament.* (Suggests that we must set an example by returning to the expenditure of 1899.

There is also an Appendix, giving tables of Military and Naval Expenditure, etc.

54.—"CAUSES OF GOING TO WAR FOR THE SAKE OF PROCURING, ENLARGING, OR SECURING OF TRADE, THE," BY JOSIAH TUCKER, DEAN OF GLOUCESTER. (London, 1763.)

A fragment of a larger work which was planned but, apparently, never published. Contains an analysis of the classes who clamour for war into:—(1) Mock Patriots, (2) Hungry Pamphleteers, (3) Brokers and Gamblers of 'Change Alley, (4) News-Writers, (5) Jobbers and Contractors, (6) Many Importers and Exporters and certain Traders with the Colonies, and (7) The Land and Sea Officers.

55.—"SOCIETY OF TO-MORROW, THE," BY G. DE MOLINARI. Translated from the French by P. H. Lee-Warner. (London, 1904.)

Is a forecast of its Political and Economic Organization. The writer is an Economist, and the earlier part of the book includes an analysis of the *State of War* (which he considers once fulfilled a real economic function, but no longer does so); and also a consideration of the practicability of a *Collective Guarantee for the Security of Nations.*

56.—"WHAT IS SEEN AND WHAT IS NOT SEEN," BY F. BASTIAT. (London and Manchester, 1859.) "Political Economy in One Lesson."

This French Economist wrote, for a Manchester paper, a letter or letters with the above title, which were reissued in pamphlet form, and a second time abridged*. He points out very clearly the effect on the prosperity of a country of employing men in non-productive Military pursuits, and answers the objection that disarmament on a large scale would lead to economic disaster.

[* In 1904 by the Cobden Club as "THINGS SEEN AND THINGS NOT SEEN."]

57.—"WAR AND ITS CONSEQUENCES: ECONOMICAL, COMMERCIAL, FINANCIAL, AND MORAL," BY PROFESSOR L. LEVI. (London, 1881.)

A somewhat brief consideration of the points named in the title, with in addition a scheme for a Court of International Reference and Arbitration.

58.—"WAR AND LABOUR," BY M. ANITCHKOW. (London, 1900.) [Also published in the same year at Berlin in German as "Krieg und Arbeit."]

A lengthy work—in poor English and showing no full familiarity with English affairs—arguing that the Twentieth Century should, *through conscious effort,* end war, but warning against Optimistic Fatalism. He looks to "Open Frontiers" (*i.e.,* to absolutely unrestricted trade and general intercourse) to end war. He points out that "Armed Peace," bad though it be, is *not* worse than war, and that wars tend to increase the *subsequent* scale and burden of military establishments, etc.

G. MODERN DEVELOPMENTS AND TENDENCIES IN THEIR BEARING ON THE QUESTION OF PEACE.

59*.—"IMPERIALISM, A STUDY," BY J. A. HOBSON. (Revised Edition, London, 1895.)

An examination of the modern Imperialism of "Competing Empires," and its relation to Modern Militarism, etc. Pt. 1. *The Economics of Imperialism,* shewing its connection with Protection and with increased Military expenditure: Pt. 2. *The Politics of Imperialism,* deals with such matters as the effect of Imperialism on Party, and of Military Life on Character. Criticizes Karl Pearson's book (No. 23 of this list) and another recent defence of War. Imperialism and and "lower" races considered. The self-deception of Imperialism exposed.

60*.—"MILITARISM," BY G. FERRERO. Translated from the Italian. (London, 1902.) Written as a contribution towards the grand aim of pacifying civilized nations." A book of some 320 pages, including a historic account of Militarism; accounts of the position of Militarism in France, Italy, England, and Germany, which are very interesting; and a final chapter entitled "Pax Christiania." He holds, like Molinari (see No. 55 of this list), that war once served a useful purpose, but no longer does so.

61.—"PATRIOTISM AND EMPIRE," BY J. M. ROBERTSON. (London, 1899.)

A vigorous and effective analysis from an anti-military, and, still more, an anti-imperialist standpoint. Recognizes difficulties. Criticizes, among other things, Imperialist-Socialism. Pt. 1. "The Springs of Patriotism and Militarism." Pt. 2. "The Militarist Regime." Pt. 3. "The Theory and Practice of Militarism."

62.—"PATRIOTISM AND ETHICS," BY J. G. GODDARD. (London, 1901.)

Patriotism in the sense of "Pride of Nationality" denounced. It is pointed out that Christianity lays stress on the Individual, not the Nation." Apologies for Patriotism examined.

63.—"PSYCHOLOGY OF JINGOISM, THE," BY J. A. HOBSON. (London, 1901.)

Deals with the *Meaning and Origin* of Jingoism, its *Diagnosis,* and its *Manufacture.*

64*.—"RACIAL SUPREMACY, BEING STUDIES IN IMPERLIALISM," BY J. G. GODDARD. (London and Edinburgh, 1905.) Divisions—(1) Imperialism; (2) Liberty and Imperialism; (3) Commercialism and Imperialism; (4) Ecclesiasticism and Imperialism; (5) The Ethics of Empire (including such points as subjugation, and the government of the subjugated); (6) The Burden of Empire. Standpoint strongly anti-imperialistic, but duties to present empire insisted on.

H. INTERNATIONAL LAW.

65*.—"GROTIUS ON THE RIGHTS OF PEACE AND WAR." (Cambridge, 1853.)

Is an abridged translation by Whewell of the "De Jure Belli ac Pacis," first published in 1625. The abridgment consists chiefly in the omission of the copious illustrative examples of the original. Grotius's work is practically the foundation of International Law. He discusses, very fully and from a broad philosophical standpoint:—(1) the possibility of a just war, (2) what does and what does not justify war, and (3) what is and what is not permissible in war (contending strongly for mitigating military customs). The book includes a plea for compulsory arbitration by Conferences of Christian Powers as in some circumstances "useful and indeed almost necessary."

66*.—"INSTITUTES OF THE LAW OF NATIONS," BY PROFESSOR JAMES LORIMER. (2 vols. Edinburgh, 1883 and 1884.)

This lengthy work contains a section of some hundred pages entitled "The Ultimate Problem of International Jurisprudence," dealing very sympathetically and hopefully with suggestions for the International abolition of war. The author gives a history of the question, considers why more has not been accomplished, and sets forth a scheme of his own "for the organization of an International Government."

67.—"INTERNATIONAL LAW," BY L. OPPENHEIM. (2 vols. London, 1905 and 1906.)

Contains, at the commencement of Vol. 2, a brief statement of the present position of the question of Amicable Settlement of Differences between nations, as affected by the Hague Convention of 1899, etc. The Text of the Hague Convention is given in an Appendix.

I. SPECIFIC PROPOSALS FOR RESTRICTING OR ABOLISHING WAR, PRACTICAL APPLICATIONS OF SUCH PROPOSALS, AND CRITICISM THEREON.

68.—"ALABAMA ARBITRATION, THE," BY T. W. BALCH. (Philadelphia, 1900.)

The story of the famous case re-told, largely in the words of the parties concerned. [Less detailed than No. 89 of this list.]

69.—"APPEAL OF A PROTESTANT TO THE POPE TO RESTORE THE LAW OF NATIONS," BY D. URQUHART. (London, 1868.)

The idea suggested is that the Pope should be empowered to decide when wars, etc., were permissible, and to veto all others. The writer is influenced by Russophobia.

70.—"ARBITRATION AND THE HAGUE COURT," BY J. W. FORDER. (Boston and New York, 1904.)

The "present phases of the subject of Arbitration" briefly stated. An Appendix contains copies of documents, including the Netherlands-Denmark Arbitration Treaty of 1902, which provides for the reference of ALL disputes between those nations to Arbitration.

71.—"CAN WE DISARM?" BY P. M'C. CABE AND G. DARRIEN. (London, 1899.)

Contends that the Peace Societies are so absorbed in the *emotional* side of the question of War that they largely overlook the *practical* difficulties of Disarmament—economical and political—and the hardships of the transition period.

72.—"DESARMAMENT, A PROPOS DU," BY A. HAMON. (Paris, 1898.)

Discusses the "Rescript." Points out the danger to liberty from "Armées policières" under a Disarmament scheme. The author is a Socialist.

73.—"EMERIC CRUCE," BY T. W. BALCH. (Philadelphia, 1902.)

Crucé or Lacroix's chief work, the "Nouveau Cynée," was published in 1624. This work is described here. It advocated a Permanent Congress, meeting at Venice, for the adjudicating of controversies between States. See "The Arbiter in Council" (No. 5 of this list).

74.—"FEDERATION OF THE POWERS, THE," BY C. D. FARQUHARSON. (London, 1897.)

appeared in the "Westminster Review" in 1891 to 1896 inclusive.]

Defends Federation—which the writer prefers to Arbitration—as the policy of the future, which might be developed after the analogy of the growth of National Governments.

75.—"FIVE ESSAYS ON A CONGRESS OF NATIONS . . . TOGETHER WITH A SIXTH COMPRISING THE SUBSTANCE OF THE REJECTED ESSAYS." (Boston, 1840.)

These Essays arose from prizes offered in America between 1830 and 1835. The 6th is a good deal more than a mere résume of the rejected papers, for its author, M. W. LADD, works out a scheme for a *Congress of Legislators* and a separate *Court of Judges*. [Mr. Ladd's Essay was also published separately (Lond., 1840).]

76.—"HAGUE, THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE CONFERENCE AT THE," BY J. HELENUS FERGUSON. (The Hague, 1899.)

The author wrote in English, though he seems to be a foreigner, before the Conference actually met. He gives a general account of the position of the Peace question, considers certain possible proposals which may come forward, and draws up in detail a "project for an Arbitration Court."

77*.—"HAGUE, THE PEACE CONFERENCE AT THE, AND ITS BEARINGS ON INTERNATIONAL LAW AND POLICY," BY F. W. HOLLS, D.C.L. (New York, 1900.)

Dr. Holls was one of the representatives of the U.S.A. at the Congress, and a member of the Committee concerned with Mediation, Arbitration, and kindred topics. The book gives a full account of the circumstances which led to the summoning of the Congress, its personnel, its proceedings, and the results achieved. "The aim has been to tell what took place "with sufficient fulness for the student of International Law, "but without making the book too technical for the general "reader." The book is an excellent one, and very well arranged. The author maintains the great value of what was accomplished.

78.—"INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION, ITS DIFFICULTIES AND ADVANTAGES," BY J. HYDE. (London, 1873.)

This book is now somewhat out-of-date. It points out that the reservation as to *honour* inserted in many Arbitration treaties was not thought necesary when it was a question of abolishing duelling.

79.—"INTERNATIONALISM," BY A. DE MARCOARTU. (London and New York, 1876.) A paper on the above by an Italian, with two Prize Essays on International Law by A. R. Sprague and M. P. Lacombe.

80.—"ON INTERNATIONAL REFORM," BY FREDERICK SEEBOHM. (London, 1871.)

The writer—the historian—argues for International *positive* law instead of International *Lynch* law.

81.—"MOYENS PRATIQUES POUR PARVENIR A LA SUPPRESSION DE LA PAIX ARMÉE ET DE LA GUERRE," BY RAOUL DE LA GRASSERIE. (Paris, 1894.)

The writer advocates the establishment of (a) *An International Tribunal,* (b) *An International Army of Peace* to enforce, if needful, the decisions of the Tribunal—said army to be reduced later, and (c) *An International Administration,* to carry out the work of Disarmament. A Province would be allowed to secede from a country by a majority vote.

82*.—"MEMOIRS OF MAXIMILIAN DE BETHUNE, DUKE OF SULLY." Translated by Charlotte Lennox. (5 vols. London,

1757. This is the "*Economies Royales*" of Sully, which first appeared in its complete form in 1662, eighteen years after its author's death.

Sully was Henri IV.'s chief Minister, and the last (thirtieth) book of the Memoirs gives an account of the "*Grand Dessein*" of that King—perhaps largely the work of Sully himself—for a Federation of Europe. Full particulars are given in "The Arbiter in Council" (No. 5 of this list).

83*.—"PEACE IN EUROPE, A PROJECT FOR SETTLING AN EVERLASTING," BY THE ABBOT ST. PIERRE. Translated. (London, c. 1714, and 1761.) The Abbé St. Pierre's "PAIX PERPETUELLE" was first printed in 1712.

This important Federation Scheme is fully described in the "Arbiter in Council" (No. 5 of this list). Rousseau abridged and commented on this work.

84*.—"PEACE OF EUROPE BY THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN EUROPEAN DYET, PARLIAMENT, OR ESTATES; AN ESSAY TOWARDES THE ESTABLISHMENT OF," BY WILLIAM PENN. London, 1703.)

[This Essay was, says "The Arbiter in Council," written in 1693. The separate pamphlet is not, I think, in the British Museum, but there is a copy in the Society of Friends' Reference Library, Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, E.C. It is included in the 1726 edition of Penn's Collected Works (on pages 838 to 848 of the 2nd of the folio volumes), but has not since been reprinted as a whole.] For particulars of this interesting and very practical scheme see "The Arbiter in Council" (No. 5 of this list).

85*.—"PERPETUAL PEACE," BY I. KANT. Translated and Edited by Miss M. Campbell Smith, M.A. (London, 1903.)

This is a very recent translation of Kant's "*Zum Ewigen Frieden*," first published in 1795, and contains a long and valuable Introduction, which includes a Historic Survey. For particulars of this philosophising of earlier schemes, see "The Arbiter in Council" (No. 5 of this list).

86.—"SAFEGUARDS FOR PEACE: A SCHEME OF STATE INSURANCE AGAINST WAR," BY E. P. FROST, D.L. (Cambridge, 1905.)

A plea for an "International Peace Union" of several Powers with a common fund, of which a country forfeits her share if she refuses to submit a quarrel to Arbitration. Would make investing in foreign War Loans illegal.

87.—"SHEDDING OF BLOOD, DISCOURSE ON THE," BY ROBERT MONTEITH. (London, 1885.)

This Roman Catholic writer takes as his theme the words from a brief of Pius IX., "A Christian ought to allow himself "to be killed rather than shed blood without just cause," and maintains that, especially in a Protestant country, there is no authority to decide what is a just war. In England he proposes the establishment of a Committee of the Privy Council, to be called a "Public Faith Council," with the power to authorize just wars only.

88.—"TSAR'S RESCRIPT, THE." Issued by the Peace Society. (London, 1899.)

Ten papers on subjects germane to the Imperial Rescript on Armaments. Nine are by Dr. Evans Darby, the Secretary of the Peace Society, and one by the Bishop of Durham (Dr. Lightfoot).

89.—"TREATY OF WASHINGTON, THE," BY CALEB CUSHING. (New York, 1873.)

See also No. 69 of this list. Contains a full account of the Alabama Dispute and of the circumstances under which it (with other questions) was referred to Arbitration; also of the proceedings of the Court of Geneva; with text of Treaty and Award. The writer is strongly pro-American.

90*.—"UNIVERSAL AND PERPETUAL PEACE, A PLAN FOR," BY JEREMY BENTHAM. [Not published separately; it forms "Essay IV. of his Principles of International Law" Works: Vol. II., pages 546 to 560.] (11 vols. Edinburgh, 1843.)

Written it would appear as early as 1789, but not published till more than half-a-century had elapsed. Advocated a

Reduction of Armaments, an International Tribunal, and an International Congress. His ideas have been closely followed at the Hague in some respects. See "The Arbiter in Council" (No. 5 of this list).

91.—"WORLD POLITICS," BY "J." (London, 1898.)

Written before the Czar's Rescript was published, but a postscript is added thereon. Advocates "the Enactment of "Laws by representatives of the nations with Permanent "Courts provided with legitimate means for the enforcement "of these laws." Thinks certain Powers might make a beginning, and others could join subsequently.

J. BIOGRAPHIES DEALING LARGELY WITH THE QUESTION.

92*.—"COBDEN, LIFE OF," BY JOHN MORLEY. (2 vols. London, 1881.)

Vol. 1, chapter 4, and many parts of Vol. 2 should be referred to. Special points dealt with include:—(a) Arguments for Non-Intervention, (b) Correspondence with Bastiat re Disarmament, etc., (c) The Arbitration question in 1850, (d) Hungary and the Intervention question, (e) War Loans by Neutral Powers, (f) The Crimean War, and (g) The Chinese War of 1857.

93.—RICHARD ("HENRY RICHARD, M.P., A BIOGRAPHY"), BY CHARLES S. MIALL. (London, 1889.)

Mr. Richard was Secretary of the Peace Society for some thirty-seven years (1848 to 1885). He took part in the First International Peace Congress (Brussels, 1848), and in many subsequent ones, and both in Parliament (1868 to his death, 1888) and elsewhere championed the Peace cause with great zeal and effect. Among much else of interest details are given of his attempt—almost successful—to carry a resolution requiring Parliamentary consent before a war, treaty or annexation, and of the circumstances which led to the insertion of the famous "Arbitration Protocol" in the Treaty of Paris of 1856.

94.—STURGE, MEMOIRS OF JOSEPH, BY HENRY RICHARD. (London, 1864.)

Joseph Sturge was an earnest advocate of Peace, and a good deal on the subject appears in the Memoirs. Among other things the allegation that the visit of Sturge and other Quakers to the Czar on the eve of the Crimean War helped to precipitate the conflict is dealt with.

K. MISCELLANEOUS.

95.—"ANTI-MAUD," BY "A POET OF THE PEOPLE." (London, 1855, 2nd Edition, enlarged 1856.)

An effective reply to the arguments in "Maud" (see No. 21 of this list). Worth reprinting, with, perhaps, some omissions. The main argument rests on the advance made "under the shadow of peace" during the preceding forty years, including the Abolition of Slavery, the Reform of the Criminal Code, and the Repeal of the Corn Laws.

96.—"CONVERSATIONS ON WAR AND GENERAL CULTURE," BY SIR ARTHUR HELPS. (London, 1871.)

Conversations after the manner of the author's "Friends in Council." The pacific side is championed by "Milverton."

97.—PENN, LIFE OF, BY THOMAS CLARKSON. (2 vols. London, 1813.)

William Penn's relations with the American Indians are narrated.

98.—"1793 AND 1853," BY RICHARD COBDEN. (4th Edition. London, 1853.)

Three letters addressed to a clergyman. The Duke of Wellington died in 1852 and Napoleon was elected Emperor of the French in the same year, so the question of the Great War was much to the front, and Cobden discusses its origin at length, his contention being that the war was not just or necessary on our part, and that consequently the popular view of the Duke of Wellington as a heaven-sent champion of liberty was untenable. The author also states his well-known views as to Non-Intervention.

99.—"THE THREE PANICS," BY RICHARD COBDEN. (London, 1862.)

Panics about the Navy in 1847 and 1848, 1851 to 1853, and 1859 to 1861. Cobden argues that there was little real ground for these, and that they led to unwise and extravagant outlay. [Republished by the Cobden Club, London, 1884.]

100.—"UTOPIA," BY SIR THOMAS MORE. Translated from Latin by Ralph Robynson. (Various Editions.)

First published in Latin in 1515 and 1516, and in English in 1551.

The Utopians despised Military Glory. "Warre or battel "as a thing very beastelye . . . . they do detest and "abhorre." Would fight for themselves or their allies, and to help the oppressed, but not for aggression.

LIST II.

(By T. P. NEWMAN.)

GENERAL.

1.—"THE ARBITER IN COUNCIL." 10s. Macmillan, 1906.

This book is invaluable to the Peace student; it gives detailed arguments of the many phases of Peace, War, and Arbitration; it quotes so fully from many ancient authorities as to render it unnecessary to recommend them in this list.

2.—"FRIEDENS-HANDBUCH." A. H. FRIED. German Peace Society.

3.—"LA ROLE DE LA GUERRE." JEAN LAGORGETTE. 1906. (Of an encyclopædic character.)

4.—"LA GUERRE AUX POINTS DE VUE TECHNIQUE, ECONOMIQUE ET POLITIQUE." JEAN DE BLOCH. 6 vols.

5.—"PROGRAMME PRATIQUE DES AMIS DE LA PAIX." ELIE DUCOMMUN. Berne Bureau de la Paix.

A co-ordination of the ideas of the friends of Peace on disarmament, arbitration, and international law.

6.—"PEACE AND WAR." CHARLES RICHET. Dent, 1906.

7.—"SPEECHES OF JOHN BRIGHT." 3s. 6d. Macmillan.

8.—"ADDRESSES AND LECTURES." CHARLES SUMNER. 50 cents. Boston.

The True Grandeur of Nations; War System of the Commonwealth of Nations, etc.

9.—"SEVASTOPOL." TOLSTOY. 2s. 6d. Constable.

10.—"UNIVERSAL PEACE CONGRESS REPORTS," especially of the Boston Congress, 1904.

11.—"FACTS AND COMMENTS." HERBERT SPENCER.
Chapters on Patriotism; Imperialism and Slavery; Rebarbarization; Perverted History, etc.

12.—"REPORT OF AMERICAN FRIENDS' CONFERENCE AT PHILADELPHIA." (Full of useful matter.) HEADLEY. 6d.

13.—"IDEALS OF LIFE AND CITIZENSHIP." C. E. MAURICE. 2s. 6d. A good Reader for schools.

14.—"THE CROWN OF WILD OLIVE." JOHN RUSKIN. G. Allen.

15.—"SIR GEORGE GREY, LIFE OF," by E. AND L. REES. 4s.

16.—"MR. DOOLEY IN PEACE AND IN WAR." ROUTLEDGE. 6d.

THE DUEL.

17.—"THE DUELLO OR SINGLE COMBAT." SELDEN. 1610.

18.—"GOLDEN REMAINS OF THE EVER MEMORABLE JOHN HALES." 1673.

JURISPRUDENCE.

19.—"PROVINCE OF JURISPRUDENCE DETERMINED." JOHN AUSTIN.

20.—"SYMBOLEOGRAPHY." WEST. 1611. (On Compromise and Arbitraments.)

FEDERATION.

21.—"EPISTLE TO VOLSIUS." ERASMUS. 1518.

22.—"SULLY'S MEMOIRS." 13th book (Economies Royales). "Le Grand Dessein" of Henri IV. to secure the Peace of Europe. 1662.

23.—"DE JURE BELLI ET PACIS." GROTIUS. 1625.

24.—"NOUVEAU CYNÉE. EMERIC CRUCÉ (LACROIZ). 1624.
The opportunity and means to establish a general peace and free trade throughout the world.

25.—"LIFE OF WILLIAM PENN." CLARKSON.
Penn's Plan for the Permanent Peace of Europe.

26.—"MEMOIRES POUR RENDRE LA PAIX PERPETUELLE EN EUROPE." ABBÉ DE ST. PIERRE. 1712.

27.—"ZUM EWIGEN FRIEDEN." IMMANUEL KANT. 1795.

28.—"PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW: A PLAN FOR UNIVERSAL AND PERPETUAL PEACE." Vol. II., Works of JEREMY BEMTHAM. London, 1842.

29.—"THE PRINCIPLES OF THE FOUNDERS." E. D. MEAD. Boston. 50c.
Showing the lofty ideals with which the foundations of the U.S.A. were laid; a historical survey.

30.—"LA FEDERATION DE L'EUROPE." J. NOVIKOW. Paris. 3f. 50c.

31.—"L'ERE SANS VIOLENCE." GASTON MOCH and MORITZ VON EGIDY. 3f. 50c. Paris. 1899.

32.—"REASONS FOR AN EUROPEAN STATE PROPOSED TO THE POWERS OF EUROPE, TO SETTLE DISPUTES ABOUT THE BOUNDS AND RIGHTS OF PRINCES AND STATES." JOHN BELLERS. 1710.

INTERNATIONAL LAW.

33.—"DROIT DES GENS." EMERICH VATTEL. 1756.

34.—"LA LOI DES NATIONS." E. DUPLESSIX. Paris. 1906.
Prize Essay of Peace Congress; has also a scheme for a Union of the Civilised States.

35.—"INTERNATIONAL LAW." Sir H. MAINE. Kegan Paul. 5s.

36.—"INTERNATIONAL LAW." PROF. LEONE LEVI. Murray. 2s. 6d. (War and its consequences.)

37.—"LA GUERRE ET LA PAIX: Recherches sur le principe de la constitution du droit des gens." P. J. PROUDHON. Brussels. 1861.

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION.

38.—"INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNALS: A Collection of the Various Schemes which have been propounded since 1815." W. EVANS DARBY. Dent. 15s.

39.—"INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION." J. BASSETT MOORE. 6 vols. A comprehensive documentary history, published by U.S.A. Government.

40.—"PEACE CONFERENCE AT THE HAGUE." F. W. HOLLS. 2 dols. 50c.

41.—"DES CAUSES ACTUELLES DE GUERRE EN EUROPE ET DE L'ARBITRAGE." EMILE DE LAVALEYE. Paris. 1873.

POLITICAL ECONOMY OF WAR.

42.—"LIFE OF TURGOT." CONDORCET. Circa 1780.

43.—"THE THREE PANICS." RICHARD COBDEN.

44.—"SPEECHES OF RICHARD COBDEN."

45.—"WAR AND LABOUR." M. ANITCHIKOW. Constable. 18s.

46.—"FINANCIAL SPEECHES OF W. E. GLADSTONE."

47.—"THE WEALTH OF NATIONS." ADAM SMITH.

48.—"THE BURDEN OF ARMAMENTS." Cobden Club. 2s. 6d.

49.—"LA GUERRE ET SES PRETENDUES BIENFAITS." J. NOVIKOW. Paris. 1895. 2f. 50c.

50.—"L'ARMÉE CONTRE LA NATION." URBAIN GOHIER. Paris. 1899. 3f. 50c.

WAR AND CHRISTIANITY OR MORALS.

51.—"THE NEW TESTAMENT."

52.—"AN APOLOGY FOR THE TRUE CHRISTIAN DIVINITY AS HELD BY THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS." ROBERT BARCLAY. 1677.

53.—"LE CRIME DE LA GUERRE DENONCÉ A L'HUMANITÉ.

H. DUPASQUIER. (Prize Essay with Preface by Frederic Passy.) Paris. 1873. 3frs.

54.—"ESSAYS ON CHRISTIAN MORALITY." JONATHAN DYMOND. (Including "War: An Enquiry as to its Causes, Consequences, Lawfulness, etc.")

55.—"TREATISE ON DEADLY SINS." WYCKLIFFE.

56.—"THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACE Exemplified in the Conduct of the Society of Friends in Ireland during the Rebellion of 1798; and a Series of Tracts by Jonathan Dymond and others, with Extracts from Erasmus." THOS. HANCOCK, M.D., and others. (Volume issued by the Society for the Promotion of Permanent and Universal Peace.) Hatchards. 1828.

57.—"TRACTS: THE FIREBRAND." JOSIAH TUCKER, Dean of Gloucester.

58.—"ESSAYS: ENGLISH TRAITS." R. W. EMERSON.

59.—"THE MORAL DAMAGE OF WAR." W. WALSH. B. Johnson. 3s. 6d.

60.—"DISCOURSES ON WAR." Dr. CHANNING.

61.—"PEACE PAMPHLETS AND OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS ON PEACE." Chiefly by Members of the Society of Friends. Headley. 1s.

IMPERIALISM AND PATRIOTISM.

62.—"IMPERIALISM." J. A. HOBSON. Constable. 2s. 6d.

63.—"PATRIOTISM AND EMPIRE." J. M. ROBERTSON. Moring. 3s. 6d.

64.—"THE HEART OF THE EMPIRE." G. P. GOOCH. Unwin. 2s. 6d. (Chapter VIII. Imperialism.)

65.—"PATRIOTISM AND ETHICS." J. G. GODARD. Moring. 5s.

WAR IN THE LIGHT OF EVOLUTION.

66.—"EVOLUTION AND ETHICS." T. H. HUXLEY. Macmillan. 4s.

67.—"DARWINISM." (Last 3 Chapters.) A. R. WALLACE. Simpkin. 7s. 6d.

68.—"MUTUAL AID A FACTOR IN EVOLUTION." PRINCE KRAPOTKIN.

69.—"DARWINISM AND POLITICS." D. G. RITCHIE. Sonnenschein. 2s. 6d.

70.—"PHYSICS AND POLITICS." W. BAGEHOT. Kegan Paul. 3s. 6d.

71.—"THE DIVINE DISCIPLINE OF ISRAEL." G. BUCHANAN GRAY. A. and C. Black. 2s. 6d.

REALITIES OF WAR.

72.—"REPORT OF COMMITTEE PRESIDED OVER BY GEN. SIR WILLIAM BUTLER." Wymans, May, 1905.

73.—"SOUTHERN HEROES." F. G. CARTLAND. Headley. 5s.

74.—"QUAKER CAMPAIGNS IN PEACE AND WAR." WILLIAM JONES. Headley Brothers.

75.—"CAMPAGNE EN RUSSIE EN 1812." LABAUME. (The Retreat from Moscow.)

76.—"MEMOIRS OF WAR AND PEACE." ARCHIBALD FORBES. Cassell. 1895.

77.—"LIFE IN A GERMAN GARRISON." LIEUT. BILSE.

78.—"THE SOLDIER'S POCKET-BOOK." GEN. LORD WOLSELEY.

HISTORY.

79.—"HISTORY OF NAPOLEON." LANFREY. 4 vols.

80.—"BATTLES AND SIEGES OF THE PENINSULA." NAPIER.

81.—"SHORT HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE." J. R. GREEN.

82.—"PAX MUNDI." K. P. ARNOLDSON. Sonnenschein.

83.—"LES LUTTES ENTRE LES SOCIETES HUMAINES ET LEURS PHASES SUCCESSIVES." JACQUES NOVIKOW. Paris. 1893.

POETRY.

84.—"POEMS." J. GREENLEAF WHITTIER.

85.—"THE BIGLOW PAPERS." J. RUSSELL LOWELL.

86.—"SWORD AND PLOUGHSHARE." ERNEST CROSBY.

87.—"THE BURDEN OF ENGELA." A. M. BUCKTON. Methuen.
(A Ballad Epic; the South African War.)

NOVELS AND STORIES.

88.—"LE DEBACLE." EMIL ZOLA.
The Franco-German War.

89.—"THE CONSCRIPT." ERCKMANN-CHATRIAN.
The Franco-German War.

90.—"WAR AND PEACE." TOLSTOY. 4 vols.
Russia during the Napoleonic War.

91.—"LAY DOWN YOUR ARMS." BARONESS VON SUTTNER. Longmans.

92.—"THE SHADOW OF THE SWORD." R. BUCHANAN. Chatto and Windus.
In the time of Napoleon.

93.—"THE DREAM OF PEACE." FRANCES GRIBBLE. Chapman.
The Franco-German War.

94.—"THE HINDERERS." EDNA LYALL. Fisher Unwin.

95.—"CAPTAIN JINKS, HERO." ERNEST CROSBY. New Age Press.

96.—"THE HAYDOCKS' TESTIMONY." (The American Civil War).

97.—"THE RED BADGE OF COURAGE." STEPHEN CRANE. Heinemann.

The American Civil War.

98.—"THE RED LAUGH." NICOLAS ANDREIEFF. 1s.
The Russo-Japanese War.

99.—"WELLS, H. G.: IN THE DAYS OF THE COMET." 6s. Macmillan.

100.—"CONVERSATIONS ON WAR AND CULTURE." SIR ARTHUR HELPS.

Many books have been regretfully excluded because their ground is already partly covered by others given in the list. Of these may be mentioned—

William Penn's "Project for a European Parliament."

Robert Barclay's "Epistle to the Ambassadors at Nimeguen."

Wyckliffe's "Trialogues."

Dr. Benjamin Trueblood's "The Federation of the World." Boston.

John W. Foster's "Arbitration and the Hague Court: A Manual of the Arbitration Movement." Boston.

Erckman-Chatrian's "The Blockade" (Franco-German War).

C. W. Oman's "Art of War in the Middle Ages."

Wilhelm Carlssen's "War as it is"(with telling pictures).

LIST III.

(By O. R. HOBSON.)

The following list is arranged in alphabetical order of authors, any classification under different headings being found impracticable. A large majority of the works selected deal with the subject from a political, economic, or ethical point of view. A few of these, such as Richard de Bury's "Complaint of Books against War," have been chosen, not so much for their intrinsic merit, as for the light they throw on the history of the Peace movement, whilst others are chiefly concerned with the historical development of the question. About fifteen foreign works are included; but none, of which there is no adequate English translation.

1.—Sheldon Amos—"POLITICAL AND LEGAL REMEDIES FOR WAR." (Cassell, 1880.)

2.—Michael Anitchkow—"WAR AND LABOUR." (Constable, 1900.)

3.—Lewis Appleton—"MEMOIRS OF HENRY RICHARD." (Trübner, 1889.)

Henry Richard, the "Apostle of Peace," was a prominent member of the Peace Society.

4.—"THE ARBITER IN COUNCIL" (Anonymous). (Macmillan, 1906.)

Report of an imaginary seven days' conference dealing with all sides of the question of Peace and War.

5.—K. P. ARNOLDSON—"PAX MUNDI." (Trans. from Swedish, Sonnenschein, 1892.)

An account of the progress of the movement towards securing permanent peace by means of arbitration, etc., by a member of the "Riksdag."

6.—J. F. BETHUNE BAKER—"THE INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY ON WAR." (Macmillan, 1889.)

7.—C. F. BASTABLE—"THE COMMERCE OF NATIONS." (Methuen, 1892.)

8.—FREDERIC BASTIAT—"HARMONIES OF POLITICAL ECONOMY." (Trans. from French by P. Stirling, London, 1860.)

Part II. contains a chapter dealing specifically with War.

9.—JOHN BELLOWS—"THE TRUTH ABOUT THE TRANSVAAL WAR, AND THE TRUTH ABOUT WAR." 1900.

"War is wrong, but not alike wrong to all."

10.—JEREMY BENTHAM—"A PLAN FOR A UNIVERSAL AND PERPETUAL PEACE." (Collected works edited by Bowring, 1843.)

11.—I. S. BLOCH—"IS WAR NOW IMPOSSIBLE?" Being an abridgment of "The War of the Future in its Technical, Economic, and Political Relations," with a prefatory conversation with the author by W. T. Stead. (Trans. from the Russian, Grant Richards, 1899.)

Abridgment of a large and laborious work on the science and practice of War, in which the author comes to the conclusion that war in the future will become physically impossible owing to perfection of armaments.

12.—MONTAGUE BERNARD—"FOUR LECTURES ON SUBJECTS CONNECTED WITH DIPLOMACY." (Macmillan, 1868.)

Lecture II., Systems of Policy; Lecture IV., The Obligation of Treaties.

13.—T. Gibson Bowles—"THE DECLARATION OF PARIS OF 1856; being an account of the Maritime Rights of Great Britain; a consideration of their importance; a history of their surrender by the signature of the declaration of Paris, and an argument for their resumption by the denunciation of that declaration." (Simpson Low, 1900.)

Deals at some length with modern warfare.

14.—Raymond L. Bridgman—"WORLD ORGANIZATION." (Guin, Boston, Mass.)

Describes the forces making for internationalism, and forecasts the development of a World Constitution with a legislature, judiciary, and executive.

15.—W. Jethro Brown—"THE NEW DEMOCRACY." Macmillan, 1899.)

Chapter VI. deals at length with the Problem of Union, *i.e.*, Federation.

16.—Richard de Bury, Bishop of Durham—"COMPLAINT OF BOOKS AGAINST WAR." (14th century.)

17.—Wilhelm Carlson—"WAR AS IT IS." (Trans. from Danish, Sonnenschein, 1892.)

Describes the horrors of war.

18 .—T. N. Carver—"SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL PROGRESS." (Boston, Mass.)

Chapter IX. by E. Van Dyke Robinson on "War and Economics."

19.—W. E. Channing—"DISCOURSES ON WAR." (Complete works, 2 vols., Simms and McIntyre, Belfast, 1843.)

20.—"COBDEN CLUB ESSAYS (2nd Series)." (Cassell, 1872.)

Essay I., by Emile de Laveleye, treats at considerable length of the "Causes of War and Means of Reducing their Number."

21.—"POLITICAL SPEECHES OF RICHARD COBDEN" (Edited by J. Bright and Thorold Rogers). (2 vols., Macmillan, 1870.)

Vol. II. on "Peace," etc.

22.—"COBDEN'S POLITICAL WRITINGS." (2 vols., Ridgway, 1868.)

23.—W. Evans Darby—"THE PROGRESS OF INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION." (Peace Society.)

A paper read at the International Law Association, Rouen, August, 1900.

24.—C. W. Dilke—"ARMY REFORM." (Service and Paton, 1898.)

Upholds a policy of reduction of armaments.

25.—C. W. Dilke and Spencer Wilkinson—"IMPERIAL DEFENCE." (Constable, 1897.)

To a large extent in opposition to the Peace-at-any-price party.

26.—Jonathan Dymond—"WAR; AN ESSAY" (with Introduction by J. Bright). (Heywood, Manchester, 1889.)

A thoughtful essay by a Quaker moralist.

27.—J. A. Farrer—"MILITARY MANNERS AND CUSTOMS." (Chatto and Windus, 1885.)

The author comes to the conclusion that no improvement beyond mere temporary fluctuation is to be expected as regards war.

28.—J. A. Farrer—"WAR AND CHRISTIANITY."

A pamphlet published by the Peace Society.

29.—Archibald Forbes—"MEMORIES AND STUDIES OF PEACE AND WAR." (Cassell, 1895.)

30.—Benjamin and W. T. Franklin—"MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN" (Vol. VI.) (H. Colburn, 1823.)

Part III., "Politics and Commerce," contains Franklin's views on war.

Godard, Godkin—See 98, 99.

31.—E. P. Frost—"SAFEGUARDS FOR PEACE: A SCHEME OF STATE INSURANCE AGAINST WAR." (Spalding, Cambridge, 1906.)

32.—T. H. Green—"LECTURES ON THE PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL OBLIGATIONS." (Longmans, 1896.)

Lecture K deals with the rights of the State over the individual in war.

33.—Hugo Grotius.—"DE JURE BELLI ET PACIS" (1625). (Trans. by Whewell, Cambridge, 1853, 3 vols.)

A monumental treatise partly on the Law of War and Peace, but chiefly on the moral side of the question.

Hall—See 100.

34.—Robert Hamilton—"THE NATIONAL DEBT." (Edinburgh, 1814.)

A standard work on this subject.

35.—J. W. Harper—"THE FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIETY." (Ward, Lock and Co., 1899.)

36.—W. Hay, F.R.S.—"ESSAYS." (18th century.)

Contains a defence of war.

37.—Arthur Helps—"CONVERSATIONS ON WAR AND GENERAL CULTURE." (1871.)

38.—A. P. Higgins—"HAGUE CONFERENCE, AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES CONCERNING THE THE LAWS AND USAGES OF WAR. TEXTS OF THE CONVENTIONS WITH NOTES." (Stevens, London, 1904.)

39.—F. W. Hirst—"COMMERCE AND PROPERTY IN NAVAL WARFARE." (Macmillan, 1906.)

40.—F. W. Hirst, Gilbert Murray, and J. L. Hammond—"LIBERALISM AND THE EMPIRE." (Johnson, 1900.)

Three essays on Imperialism and Finance, Exploitation in Ancient and Modern Times, Colonial and Foreign Policy.

41.—J. A. Hobson—"IMPERIALISM; A STUDY." (Nisbet, 1902.)

42.—J. A. Hobson—"THE PSYCHOLOGY OF JINGOISM." (Grant Richards, 1901.)

Deals with the cause and effect of misplaced and artificially produced patriotism, with special reference to the Boer War of 1899.

43.—T. E. Holland—"LECTURE ON THE BRUSSELS CONFEDERATION." (Cambridge, 1853.)

i.e., Brussels Conference of 1874 on Warfare.

44.—F. W. Holls—"THE PEACE CONFERENCE AT THE HAGUE AND ITS BEARINGS ON INTERNATIONAL LAW AND POLICY." (Macmillan.)

45.—W. De Witt Hyde—"PRACTICAL IDEALISM." (Macmillan, 1897.)

The author thinks that the dawn of permanent Peace is at hand.

46.—L. A. Atherley Jones—"COMMERCE IN WAR." (Methuen, 1907.)

Deals principally with International Law in War.

47.—I. Kant—"IDEA OF A UNIVERSAL HISTORY FROM A COSMOPOLITAN POINT OF VIEW." (Trans. from German.)

Traces connection between internal and foreign politics, and emphasises the need of a good constitution, if peace is to be maintained.

48.—I. Kant—"ZUM EWIGEN FRIEDEN." (Trans. "Perpetual Peace," included in "Principles of Politics." Clark, Edinburgh, 1889.)

49.—Benjamin Kidd—"SOCIAL EVOLUTION." (Macmillan, 1894.)

An important work dealing with progress generally.

50.—W. Knighton—"STRUGGLES FOR LIFE." (Williams and Norgate, 1886.)

Chapter IX. deals with "War."

51.—S. Laing—"PROBLEMS OF THE FUTURE, AND ESSAYS." (Chapman and Hall, 1889.)

Chapter XII. deals with "Armed Europe"; the conclusion arrived at is that disarmament in Europe is extremely improbable, and possibly only at the initiation of France.

52.—W. E. H. Lecky—"HISTORY OF EUROPEAN MORALS." (Longmans, 1894.)

Deals with the period from Augustus to Charlemagne.

53.—"ESSAYS IN LIBERALISM, BY SIX OXFORD MEN." (Cassell, 1897.)

The essay on "Liberalism and its Outward Relations," by J. S. Phillimore, is to the point.

54.—JOSEPH McCABE—"CAN WE DISARM?" (Heinemann, 1899.)

55.—J. S. MACKENZIE—"INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY." (Maclehose, 1895.)

Deals with Social Organism, ideal aims, etc., and incidentally with War.

56.—G. DE MOLINARI—"THE SOCIETY OF TO-MORROW." (Trans. from French, Unwin, 1904.)

57.—J. B. MOORE—"HISTORY AND DIGEST OF INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION." (Washington, 1899.)

58.—J. MORLEY AND THOROLD ROGERS—"COBDEN AND POLITICAL OPINION." (Macmillan, 1873.)

59.—J. MORLEY—"LIFE OF RICHARD COBDEN." 2 vols. (Chapman and Hall, 1881.)

60.—C. W. C. OMAN—"A HISTORY OF THE ART OF WAR." (Methuen, 1898.)

Traces the changes and developments in the art and customs of war from the 4th to the 14th century.

61.—MULVY OUSELEY—"THE SORROWS OF MICHAEL." (1906.)

Suggests in novel form a solution of the universal Peace Problem.

62.—CHARLES H. PEARSON—"NATIONAL LIFE AND CHARACTER; A FORECAST." (Macmillan, 1894.)

In Chapter III. the author arrives at the conclusion that war is never likely to be replaced by arbitration.

63.—W. PENN—"ESSAY ON THE FEDERATION OF THE WORLD." (Collected Works, 1720.)

Deals in a comprehensive and thorough manner with the causes and evils of war, with a scheme for avoiding them.

64.—P. S. Reinsch—"WORLD POLITICS AT THE END OF THE 19th CENTURY." (Macmillan, 1900.)

Thorough discussion of present political situation.

65.—Charles Richet—"PEACE AND WAR." (Trans. by Marian Edwardes, 1906.)

A small volume, containing a vigorous attack on war and a reply to objections.

66.—D. G. Ritchie—"STUDIES IN POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ETHICS." (Sonnenschein, 1902.)

Chapter VI. on War and Peace; the writer thinks that arbitration is "a remedy for war, but not a panacea."

67.—J. M. Robertson—"PATRIOTISM AND EMPIRE." (Grant Richards, 1899.)

68.—J. M. Robertson—"WRECKING THE EMPIRE." (Grant Richards, 1901.)

69.—Charles Ross—"REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT AND WAR." (Hutchinson, 1903.)

Part I., Warfare; II., Form of Government and War; III., Great Britain and War; IV., British Empire and Trained Powers.

70.—J. J. Rousseau—"PROJECT OF PERPETUAL PEACE." (Trans. from French. London, 1761.)

71.—John Ruskin—"THE CROWN OF WILD OLIVE."

The subject of Lecture III. is "War," which the writer upholds as being in the interests of art and morality.

72.—Abbe de St. Pierre—"PROJECT OF PERPETUAL PEACE." (Trans. from French. 1712.)

An important work, comprising a well-thought-out scheme for maintaining perpetual peace.

73.—Herbert Samuel—"LIBERALISM; ITS PRINCIPLES AND PROPOSALS."

Part IV., dealing with Imperial and Foreign Policy, is important.

74.—C. Seignobos—"POLITICAL HISTORY OF CONTEMPORARY EUROPE." (Trans. from French. Heinemann, 1901.)

75.—John Selden—"DUELLO; OR, SINGLE COMBAT FROM ANTIQUITY, DEFINED INTO ENGLISH WITH FORMS AND CEREMONIES THEREOF." (London, 1610.)

76.—N. S. Shales—"THE CITIZEN; A STUDY OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE GOVERNMENT." (Constable, 1905.)

77.—G. F. Shee—"THE BRITON'S FIRST DUTY; THE CASE FOR CONSCRIPTION." (Grant Richards, 1900.)

Perhaps the ablest statement of the case for Conscription.

78.—Henry Sidgwick — "DEVELOPMENT OF EUROPEAN POLITY." (Macmillan, 1903.)

79.—Henry Sidgwick—"PRACTICAL ETHICS." (Sonnenschein, 1898.)

Chapter III. on Public Morality, and the IV. on the Morality of Strife are to the point.

80.—Adam Smith—"WEALTH OF NATIONS."

Book V. treats specifically of the political economy of war; but the whole work is of course important to the student of the economic aspect of the question.

81.—"Herbert Spencer—"PRINCIPLES OF ETHICS." (Constable, 1900.)

82.—W. T. Stead—"HOW NOT TO MAKE PEACE." (London, 1900.)

83.—W. T. Stead—"WAR AGAINST WAR IN SOUTH AFRICA."

Originally published as a periodical.

84.—Charles Sumner—"WAR SYSTEM OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS." 1849. (Complete Works, Boston, Mass., 1879.)

85.—Baroness von Suttner—"LAY DOWN YOUR ARMS." (Trans. from German. Longmans, 1893.)

A powerful novel urging Disarmament.

86.—L. Tolstoy—"PATRIOTISM AND CHRISTIANITY." (Trans. from Russian.)

87.—L. Tolstoy—"PATRIOTISM AND GOVERNMENT." (Trans. from Russian. Free Age Press, 1900.)

88.—L. Tolstoy—"LETTERS ON WAR." (Trans. from Russian. Free Age Press, 1900.)

89.—L. Tolstoy—"THE PHYSIOLOGY OF WAR." (Trans. from Russian. Walter Scott, London.)

90.—L. Tolstoy—"WAR AND PEACE." (Trans. from Russian. Walter Scott, London.)

A novel in 4 volumes dealing with Russia at the beginning of the 19th century and directed against war.

Tolstoy's complete works are also published in English by J. M. Dent.

91.—E. de Vattel—"DROITS DES GENS." (Trans. from French under the title of "Law of Nations." London, 1760.)

92.—Walter Walsh—"THE MORAL DAMAGE OF WAR." (Ginn and Co., 1906.)

A work dealing with the moral damage of war to various classes of the community, *e.g.*, politicians, missionaries, children, etc.

93.—"ALL WAR ANTI-CHRISTIAN." (1838.)

A volume of tracts published by the "Society for the Promotion of Permanent and Universal Peace," founded in 1816.

94.—T. Waraker—"NAVAL WARFARE OF THE FUTURE; A CONSIDERATION OF THE DECLARATION OF PARIS, 1856; ITS OBLIGATIONS AND ITS OPERATIONS UPON MARITIME BELLIGERENTS."

95.—"REPORT OF THE AMERICAN CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION HELD IN WASHINGTON."

96.—SPENCER WILKINSON—"WAR AND POLICY." (Constable, 1900.)

97.—"WISDOM AND WAR." (St. Martins Press, 1906.)

A small volume issued at a popular price, comprising extracts from well-known authors, on the subject of Peace and War.

98.—J. G. GODARD—"PATRIOTISM AND ETHICS." (Grant Richards.)

99.—E. L. GODKIN—"REFLECTIONS AND COMMENTS." (Constable, 1896.)

Essays I. and II. on "Peace" and "Culture and War" respectively.

100.—ROBERT HALL—"REFLECTIONS ON WAR." 1802.

A sermon delivered at a Baptist meeting at Cambridge.

LIST IV.

By M. L. COOKE.

GENERAL AND LEGAL.

1.—"THE ARBITER IN COUNCIL." (Macmillan.)

2.—ARNOLDSON, K. P.—"PAX MUNDI." Translated from Swedish by Miss Peckover; Preface by Bishop Westcott. (Swan, Sonnenschein, and Co.)

3.—BALLOU, ADIN—(1) "CHRISTIAN NON-RESISTANCE"; (2) "NON-RESISTANCE IN RELATION TO HUMAN GOVERNMENTS." (Boston: American Peace Society.)

4.—BELLERS, JOHN—"SOME REASONS FOR AN EUROPEAN STATE." Pub. 1710. Partly reprinted in "International Tribunals" (see No. 21).

5.—BLOCH, J.—"THE WAR OF THE FUTURE, IN ITS TECHNICAL, ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL RELATIONS." (In Russian, French, and German versions.) Abridgment in English.

6.—BRACE, C. LORING—"GESTA CHRISTI." Chapters on War and the Duel. (Hodder and Stoughton.)

7.—BRIGHT, JOHN—"SPEECHES ON THE RUSSIAN WAR."

8.—BURKE—"SPEECHES ON THE AMERICAN WAR; AND LETTER TO THE SHERIFFS OF BRISTOL."

9.—BURRITT, ELIHU—"PEACE PAPERS FOR THE PEOPLE."

10.—CARNEGIE, ANDREW—"A LEAGUE OF PEACE: RECTORIAL ADDRESS TO THE STUDENTS OF ST. ANDREW'S UNIVERSITY." (Peace Society, 47, New Broad St.)

11.—CHALMERS—"ADDRESS ON WAR." (Peace Society, 47, New Broad St.)

12.—CHANNING, W. E.—"DISCOURSES ON WAR" (1816, 1835, and 1838).

13.—"CHRISTIANITY AND WAR." Issued by the Society of Friends, 1900. (From Mr. Isaac Sharp, 12, Bishopsgate St. Without.)

14.—COBDEN, RICHARD—(1) "THE THREE PANICS"; (2) "1793 AND 1853, IN THREE LETTERS"; (3) "HOW WARS ARE GOT UP IN INDIA."

15.—"COBDEN, LIFE OF," BY JOHN MORLEY.

16.—COBDEN CLUB—"THE BURDEN OF ARMAMENTS."

17.—"COLENSO (BISHOP), LIFE OF." (Parts relating to the Zulu Wars.)

18.—COLENSO, MISS F. E.—(1) "HISTORY OF THE ZULU WAR"; (2) (Sequel to above) "THE RUIN OF ZULULAND."

19.—CONSTANT, M. D'ESTOURNELLES DE—"REPORT ON THE LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS TO INTER-PARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE, 1906."

20.—CRUCE, EMERIC.—"LE NOUVEAU CYNEE." (Summary of Contents in "International Tribunals.")

21.—DARBY, DR. W. E.—"INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNALS." A collection of the various schemes which have been propounded and of instances of Arbitration since 1794. (J. M. Dent and Co. and Peace Society.)

22.—DYMOND, JONATHAN—"WAR: AN INQUIRY INTO ITS CAUSES, CONSEQUENCES, AND LAWFULNESS." (Headley Brothers, 14, Bishopsgate St. Without.)

23.—Edmondson, J.—"THE JUDGE, THE POLICEMAN, AND THE SOLDIER." (West, Newman, and Co., Hatton Garden.)

24.—Erasmus—"CONSIDERATIONS ON WAR." Eng. trans.

25.—Farrer, J. A.—"MILITARY MANNERS AND CUSTOMS."

26.—"THE NEW LEVIATHAN." (Elliot Stock, or International Arbitration and Peace Association, 40, Outer Temple.)

27.—Finot—"RACE PREJUDICE." Trans. Florence Wade-Evans. (Constable and Co.)

28.—Froude, J. A.—"TWO LECTURES ON SOUTH AFRICA."

29.—Fry, Joan M.—"THE WAY OF PEACE," 3rd Essay and part of 5th. (Headley Brothers, 14, Bishopsgate St. Without.)

30.—"GARRISON, WM. T. LLOYD, LIFE OF," by his Sons.

31.—Godard—"PATRIOTISM AND ETHICS."

32.—Gooch, G. P.—"IMPERIALISM." (In "The Heart of the Empire.") (T. Fisher Unwin.)

33.—Green, J. R.—"HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE" (esp. on the Hundred Years' War with France).

34.—Green, T. H.—"LECTURES ON THE PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL OBLIGATION." (K, "The Right of the State over the Individual in War.")

35.—Grotius, Hugo—"DE JURE BELLI AC PACIS."

36.—Helps, Sir A.—"CONVERSATIONS ON WAR AND GENERAL CULTURE."

37.—Ibid—"THE SPANISH CONQUEST OF AMERICA."

38.—Hobson, J. A.—"IMPERIALISM."

39.—Ibid—"THE WAR IN SOUTH AFRICA."

40.—HODGKIN, HOWARD—"PENNSYLVANIA: A STUDY IN EMPIRE-BUILDING." (Peace Union, 90, St. Ann's Hill, Wandsworth.)

41.—HORNBY, SIR EDMUND—"AN INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL." (In "International Tribunals.")

42.—"HORRIDA BELLA." (Elliot Stock.)

43.—HUGHES, H. PRICE.—"THE PHILANTHROPY OF GOD." Chapters V.-IX., on Militarism, Arbitration, etc. (Hodder and Stoughton.)

44.—HUXLEY, T.—"EVOLUTION AND ETHICS."

45.—JAY, WILLIAM—"WAR AND PEACE."

46.—IBID—"REVIEW OF THE MEXICAN WAR."

47.—LAVELAYE, EMILE DE—"CAUSES OF WAR, AND MEANS OF REDUCING THEIR NUMBER." (Cobden Club Essays.)

48.—LEVI, PROF. LEONE—"INTERNATIONAL LAW" (War and its Consequences). (Kegan Paul.)

49.—IBID—"PROJECT OF A COUNCIL AND HIGH COURT OF INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION." (Reprinted in "International Tribunals.")

50.—NEMIROVITCH-DANTCHENKO—"PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF GENERAL SKOBELEFF." Trans. E. A. Brayley. (Hodgetts.)

51.—NEWMAN, F. W.—"THE CHRISTIAN COMMONWEALTH."

52.—PENN, WILLIAM—"AN ESSAY TOWARDS THE PRESENT AND FUTURE PEACE OF EUROPE." (Reprinted in "International Tribunals.")

53.—PERRIS, G. H.—"A HISTORY OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE AT THE HAGUE." (International Arbitration and Peace Association.)

54.—RICHARD, HENRY—"THE GRADUAL TRIUMPH OF LAW OVER BRUTE FORCE." (Peace Society.)

55.—"RICHARD, HENRY, LIFE OF," BY CHARLES S. MIALL.

56.—RICHET, CHARLES—"WAR AND PEACE." Trans. from French by Marian Edwardes. (J. M. Dent and Co.)

57.—ROBERTSON, J. M.—"PATRIOTISM AND EMPIRE."

58.—RUSKIN—"THE CROWN OF WILD OLIVE."

59.—RUSSELL, SIR CHARLES—"ARBITRATION: ITS ORIGIN, HISTORY AND PROSPECTS." Address to the American Bar Association at Saratoga. (Peace Society.)

60.—SEELEY, SIR JOHN—"THE EXPANSION OF ENGLAND." Chapters on the Colonies.

61.—SMITH, ADAM.—"THE WEALTH OF NATIONS," Book V. Expense of Defence, and Public Debts.

62.—SPENCER, HERBERT—"FACTS AND COMMENTS." (On "Imperialism and Slavery," "Rebarbarisation," and "Patriotism.")

63.—SULLY—"THE 'GRAND DESSEIN' OF HENRY IV." Summarised in "International Tribunals."

64.—SUMNER, CHARLES—"THREE ADDRESSES AND ESSAYS"—(1) "The War System of the Commonwealth of Nations," (2) "The True Grandeur of Nations," (3) "The Duel between France and Germany, with its Lessons to Civilisation."

65.—TRUEBLOOD, DR. B. F.—"THE FEDERATION OF THE WORLD." (Boston: American Peace Society.)

66.—TOLSTOI, LEO—"BETHINK YOURSELVES." Letter on the Russo-Japanese War. (New Age Press.)

67.—IBID—"THE PHYSIOLOGY OF WAR" (and see under Fiction).

68.—TUCKER, DEAN OF GLOUCESTER—"THE CASE OF GOING TO WAR FOR THE SAKE OF TRADE" (and other Tracts).

69.—VATTEL (Trans. J. Chitty)—"THE LAW OF NATIONS"—Book III. of "War," and IV. of "Peace"; esp. section on "Arbitration," reprinted in "International Tribunals."

70.—WALLACE, A. R.—"THE WONDERFUL CENTURY." (Chapter on Militarism.)

71.—WESTCOTT, B. L. (Bishop of Durham)—"THE INCARNATION: A REVELATION OF HUMAN DUTIES." Esp. Section II. and III.

72.—WOLSELEY, LORD—"THE SOLDIER'S POCKET-BOOK."

73.—IBID—"LIFE OF MARLBOROUGH"—Descriptive, Narrative, and Fiction. (A Description and Narrative.)

74.—BARING, MAURICE—"WITH THE RUSSIANS IN MANCHURIA." (Methuen and Co.)

75.—BELLOWS, J.—"THE TRACK OF THE WAR ROUND METZ." (Trübner and Co. and J. Bellows, Gloucester.)

76.—CARTLAND, GERTRUDE—"SOUTHERN HEROES." (Headley Brothers.)

77.—DE LA REY, MRS.—"A WOMAN'S WANDERINGS DURING THE ANGLO-BOER WAR." (T. Fisher Unwin.)

78.—FORBES, ARCHIBALD—"'DAILY NEWS' WAR CORRESPONDENCE." (Franco-German War.)

79.—"FROISSART'S CHRONICLES."

80.—LABAUME—"A CIRCUMSTANTIAL NARRATIVE OF THE CAMPAIGN IN RUSSIA, 1816." Trans. Edmund Boyle.

81.—"LADY DE LANCEY'S NARRATIVE"—"A Week at Waterloo in 1815." Ed. Major Ward, R.E.

FICTION.

82.—BUCHANAN, ROBERT—"THE SHADOW OF THE SWORD."

83.—SUTTNER, BARONESS VON—"LAY DOWN YOUR ARMS."

84.—Tolstoi, Leo—"SEBASTOPOL."

85.—Ibid—"WAR AND PEACE." (Parts.)

In Foreign (modern) Languages.

GENERAL.

86.—Andrejer—"DAS ROTHE LACHEN." (Verlag Swanje, Berlin.)

87.—Bastiat—"PAIX ET LIBERTE, OU LE BUDGET REPUBLICAIN."

88.—D'Estournelles de Constant, La Fontaine, etc.—"LA PAIX ET L'ENSEIGNEMENT PACIFIQUE." Leçons Professées à l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes sociales.

89.—Fried, A. H.—"HANDBUCH DER FRIEDENSBEWEGUNG." (Austrian Peace Society.)

90.—La Fontaine, H.—"PASICRISIE INTERNATIONALE" Histoire Documentaire des Arbitrages internationaux, 1794-1900. (Berne: Stämpfli et Cie.)

91—Lagorgette, J.—"LE ROLE DE LA GUERRE." (Giard et Brière, 16, Rue Soufflot, Paris.)

92.—Novicow, J.—"LES LUTTES ENTRE SOCIETES HUMAINES." (F. Alcan, Boulevard St. Germain, Paris.)

93.—Ibid—"LA GUERRE ET SES PRETENDUS BIENFAITS." (A. Colin et Cie., Paris.)

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